S. HRG. 98-38

NOMINATION OF JOHN MELVIN YATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

NOMINATION OF JOHN MELVIN YATES, OF WASHINGTON, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE

MARCH 8, 1983

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
18-220 O WASHINGTON : 1983

5381-23

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHARLES H. PERCY, Illinois, *Chairman*

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., Tennessee	CLAIBORNE PELL, Rhode Island
JESSE HELMS, North Carolina	JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., Delaware
RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana	JOHN GLENN, Ohio
CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., Maryland	PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland
NANCY L. KASSEBAUM, Kansas	EDWARD ZORINSKY, Nebraska
RUDY BOSCHWITZ, Minnesota	PAUL E. TSONGAS, Massachusetts
LARRY PRESSLER, South Dakota	ALAN CRANSTON, California
FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, Alaska	CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut

EDWARD G. SANDERS, *Staff Director*
GERYLD B. CHRISTIANSON, *Minority Staff Director*

CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing day:	
March 8, 1983	1
Statement of—	
Moynihan, Hon. Daniel Patrick, a U.S. Senator from New York	1
Yates, John Melvin, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde	2
Insertions for the record:	
Mr. Yates' biographical sketch	2
Prepared statement of Mr. Yates	4
Mr. Yates' responses to additional questions submitted by Senator Pell	11
The Cape Verde Islands: Political background and relations with the United States—a report by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress	11

NOMINATION OF JOHN MELVIN YATES

TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1983

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:37 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Nancy L. Kassebaum presiding.

Present: Senators Kassebaum, Helms, Pell, and Tsongas.

Senator KASSEBAUM. All right.

Normally we are not this confused. I would say to the distinguished Senator from New York that we are trying to hear from various panels. Senator Pell has a number of questions for Mr. Yates, and Senator Moynihan would like to introduce Mr. Yates.

Senator Moynihan.

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

Senator MOYNIHAN. Madam Chairman, members of the committee, you are characteristically gracious to allow me to break into your proceedings. This is a great honor and pleasure for me to do so for the purpose of introducing to the committee John Melvin Yates, who has been nominated by the President to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde.

It is a personal pleasure. At the time when I was Ambassador to India, Mr. Yates was my personal aide, and nothing this Republic could do for him would repay the service he did me, and perhaps the Republic, in keeping me in line.

He is a career officer of the highest quality. It is a tribute to the Foreign Service that he should be here today. He has just come from a distinguished tour as the deputy chief of mission in Gabon, which is one of the more successful stories of sub-Saharan Africa, as I am sure he can tell you if you wish to ask him.

He is going to Cape Verde where he will be in a region well known to him and in a post for which I suggest he is fully qualified. I would only make the observation that I was at the United Nations when Cape Verde was admitted—became independent and was admitted to the U.N.—and had the occasion to say then—and I would repeat—it is one of the happy circumstances of our relations which are otherwise characterized by many of the difficulties of the world today that there are more Cape Verdeans living in New York than living in Cape Verde. This is a comment true about many countries in the world, and we are very proud of them and happy to have them, and

very happy to have as our Ambassador to their home country Mr. Yates—Ambassador Yates, pending the approval of this committee and of the Senate. And so I commend him to you.

I thank you for your great courtesy in allowing me the pleasure and honor of introducing him.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you, Senator Moynihan.

If Mr. Yates was able to keep you in line, then we should not have to worry about Cape Verde.

Senator MOYNIHAN. I fully agree. I leave him to your mercy. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you.

It is a pleasure to welcome you, Mr. Yates. Do you have any statement you would like to make?

[Mr. Yates' biographical sketch follows:]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN MELVIN YATES

Position for which considered: Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde.
Present position: Charge d'Affaires, Praia.
Office address: American Embassy Praia, Republic of Cape Verde.
Born: November 25, 1939, Superior, Mont.
Legal residence: Pullman, Wash.
Marital status: Married.
Family: Wife: former Peggy Simpson; children: Catherine, John S., Maureen, Paul, and Leon G.
Home address: Care of American Embassy Praia, Republic of Cape Verde.
Education: A.B. 1961, Stanford University; M.A. 1962, M.A.L.D. 1963, Ph. D. 1972, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.
Language ability: French (3+/3+, tested) and Portuguese (2+/2+, tested).

Experience

Non-Government:
1962–64—Assistant in Government, Tufts University.
Government:
1964–66—Foreign Service Officer General, Algiers; FSO–8.
1967—FSO–7.
1967–68—Economic and Consular Officer, Blantyre.
1968–69—African Area Studies, Boston University.
1969—FSO–5.
1969–71—Political Officer, Bamako.
1971–72—Country Officer for Senegal, Mali and The Gambia, Department.
1972–73—Country Officer for Liberia and Sierra Leone, Department.
1973–75—Special Assistant to the Ambassador, New Delhi.
1974—FSO–4.
1975–77—Political and Military Officer, Ankara.
1977–80—Deputy Chief of Mission, Libreville.
1980—FSO–3.
1980–82—International Relations Officer, Office of Coordinator of Population Affairs, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Department.
1981—FSO–1, Class adjustment pursuant to Public Law 96–465, approved October 17, 1980.
1982 to present—Charge d'Affaires, Praia.
Memberships: American Foreign Service Association.

NOMINATION OF JOHN MELVIN YATES, OF WASHINGTON, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE

Mr. YATES. Madam Chairman, I have a statement that I could read or I could submit, depending on how your time is.

Senator KASSEBAUM. If it would be agreeable with everyone, including yourself, it would be submitted for the record in its entirety. We would appreciate that. Thank you very much.

Does anybody have any questions?

Senator TSONGAS. Madam Chairman, I will not be able to stay. If I could just make a couple of comments quickly.

I had occasion to meet with Mr. Yates in my office. We were able to talk about the issues and to my satisfaction. I would only say to the families they should not be insulted that we do not inquire at length. It is the ultimate compliment of this committee not to inquire at length. It means the candidates are qualified, and we have confidence in them. It is when your relative is grilled that you have a chance to worry. So I would hope that they would not personally be offended by our lack of inquiry.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you very much. We will be back in just a few minutes.

[Recess.]

Senator KASSEBAUM. We will turn the meeting over to Senator Pell and Mr. Yates.

Senator PELL [presiding]. Mr. Yates, I am very pleased you are here, and I appreciate your patience.

First, I ask unanimous consent that the hearing and the questions that have already occurred with regard to Mr. Yates be printed in separate form. Without objection, so ordered.

I am delighted to be here today to hear from Mr. John Yates, who has been nominated to serve as Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde. This is a nomination of great policy importance for the many hardworking Cape Verdean descendants now living in the United States. From its shores, Cape Verde has sent thousands of heroic immigrants, who braved a treacherous Atlantic crossing and became model citizens in my home state of Rhode Island and throughout New England.

In the Pawtucket-Providence area alone, there are at least 32,000 people of Cape Verdean descent, perhaps the largest concentration of Cape Verdeans anywhere outside Cape Verde. In Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the Cape Verdean communities number more than 300,000—as many as in Cape Verde itself.

These are people who have entered quickly into productive lives as Americans. Initially, many signed on as whalers, and many of America's early sailors and harpooners were Cape Verdeans. Subsequently, they have become fishermen, farmers, factory workers and professionals.

Yet they have not forgotten their families back home. A recent press report estimates that the Cape Verdean communities of New England alone send back more than $5 million to Cape Verde every year. That figure exceeds the annual total of U.S. Government assistance for the Cape Verde Islands. These funds make a difference. The World Bank reports that, although 40 percent of the people of Cape Verde live below the poverty line, funds from Cape Verdean immigrants have raised that country's per capita earnings from $200 to $300 per year.

For a number of years, I have urged that the United States maintain full and separate diplomatic representation in Cape Verde. In that regard, today is a happy occasion, since Mr. Yates will be our very first full-time Ambassador to that country.

This nomination is an important development in the tradition of close relations between the United States and Cape Verde, where the

United States has maintained a consulate since 1816. Cape Verde achieved independence from Portugual in 1975, at a time when other former Portuguese colonies were turning to the Soviets and the Cubans for support. However, Cape Verde has succeeded in establishing a true nonalined status. Though it does receive some Soviet military aid, Cape Verde has refused repeated Soviet efforts to gain military bases in these strategic islands.

The Cape Verdean Government has also announced its determination to look to the West for a broader base of military support. As the Sahelian country which has been perhaps the hardest hit by drought, Cape Verde now also receives the bulk of its economic assistance and food aid from the West.

Recently, Cape Verde has demonstrated the value of nonalinement by successfully offering itself as the common meeting ground for South African and Angolan officials seeking to break the deadlock in the Namibia negotiations. These continuing meetings are of critical importance for U.S. foreign policy objectives in the area.

I am very glad, Mr. Yates, that you could be with us today, because you have served for the past several months as chargé d'affaires in Cape Verde. You obviously come well versed in the particulars of your new assignment, and I look forward to hearing from you further.

Before we proceed further, I would like to note that I requested last summer that the Congressional Research Service do a brief background study on Cape Verde and United States-Cape Verde relations. This resulted in a very fine and useful report, and I offer the report as part of the record today and ask that it be printed at the end of Mr. Yates' testimony.

[Mr. Yates' prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN M. YATES

Madam Chairman and members of the committee: First of all, I would like to express my appreciation to President Reagan and Secretary Shultz for their expression of confidence in nominating me as Ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde. If confirmed in this position, I look forward to working closely with this committee in carrying out my responsibilities.

My nomination as the first United States Ambassador to be resident in Praia is recognition of the significance of our long and close ties with Cape Verde. Early in the 19th Century, American whaling ships began recruiting Cape Verdean crewmen, and by 1810, the first American consulate had been established in the Cape Verde islands. Since at least that time, and possibly earlier, Cape Verdeans have sought opportunities for better lives in this country. Emigration to the United States continues and the Cape Verdean-American community, concentrated in New England but extending to California and even Hawaii, may now outnumber the estimated 300,000 population of the independent Republic of Cape Verde. The ties between these Americans of Cape Verdean origin and the islands have remained strong through generations.

On the official level, relations between the United States and Cape Verde have grown increasingly cordial since Cape Verdean independence in 1975. Each side has made a genuine effort during the past eight years to get to know—and to understand—the other. A recent example of our fruitful dialogue was provided by Vice President Bush's cordial meeting with President Pereira in Cape Verde last November. We recognize the constructive role Cape Verde is able to play in African affairs. President Pereira's facilitation of direct communications between Angola and South Africa in an attempt to achieve peaceful solutions to the problems of southern Africa is emblematic of this role.

We also recognize the plight of the hard-working people of Cape Verde, plagued by a 15-year drought which has now lasted longer and with more severity than in any other Sahelian country. During his visit, Vice President Bush signed a

food for peace agreement providing 15,000 tons of corn annually for three years. He also pledged that the United States would remain a steady partner in Cape Verde's development efforts. Under the Sahelian development program we have provided assistance in a number of sectors vital to Cape Verde. Our bilateral program now concentrates on addressing the chronic food shortage problem and stabilizing the deteriorating land and water resource base. This assistance is appreciated by the government and people of Cape Verde and we work closely with them to assure that it is utilized effectively.

In closing, let me note that I was in Cape Verde when the news of President Reagan's intention to nominate a resident ambassador was announced on the radio. Cape Verdeans reacted with a pride and an enthusiasm which reflected the warmth and friendship they feel toward America—the home of so many of the islands' sons and daughters. I look forward to the opportunity to build on that foundation of good will in developing an even more constructive and mutually beneficial relationship between our two countries.

Senator PELL. Mr. Yates, what do you believe are the factors that have led the United States to establish a separate embassy in Cape Verde at this time?

Mr. YATES. Senator, thank you very much.

As you know, we have had an Embassy in Cape Verde. I will be the first resident Ambassador. Cape Verde came to independence with Guinea-Bissau under one political party, and the goal of the party, the original party in those two countries, was to work toward unity. But following the 1980 coup d'etat in Guinea-Bissau, it became clear that the countries would not be unified. Thus, our policy of having a nonresident ambassador in Bissau to look after both of the countries became less tenable, and we recognized the importance of putting an ambassador in Praia.

Senator PELL. What will we gain by having a full-time ambassador in Cape Verde?

Mr. YATES. I think very simply, Senator, we will gain much improved access to the highest levels of the Cape Verdean Government and better overall management of our programs there.

Senator PELL. What do you believe, Mr. Yates, are the main American interests—humanitarian, strategic, and political—in Cape Verde?

Mr. YATES. Well, sir, you in your opening statement have touched upon the most important interests that we have there, beginning with the 300,000 or more Cape Verdeans who live in this country and who have a very active interchange with the communities in Cape Verde.

In this regard you might be interested to know that Praia is the most active immigrant visa issuing post in Africa which demonstrates that the immigration from Cape Verde is continuing.

You have also mentioned the very important strategic position of the Cape Verde Islands, and in fact, some of the high Government officials have said that Cape Verde is really limited to two resources: longitude and latitude. We are well aware of the strategic importance of the Cape Verde Islands.

Finally, the Cape Verdeans have been struggling against drought for 15 years, and we have a very real humanitarian interest in seeing that they are able to have sufficient food and work.

Senator PELL. What do you think has been the reason that so many Cape Verdeans have come to the United States, particularly to the Northeast?

Mr. YATES. They began coming on American whalers in the early 19th century. American whaling ships found it easier or perhaps more convenient to take on crews in Cape Verde. The Cape Verdean people proved to be very brave and very industrious in the dangerous whale trade.

When they came back to New England, many of them saw increased opportunities in the United States, and over the years they have sent for their families. And as you know, in Rhode Island and other New England States they now constitute a very important and hard-working community.

Senator PELL. I can remember, not too many years ago, seeing the sailing vessel that went directly from Providence to Cape Verde and back. As I recall, the passage took about 5 weeks, and the fare was a couple hundred dollars. My wife and I thought of going but then decided that that would be too long to spend on a sailing trip at that time. But I admire the gallantry of the earlier immigrants who did indeed come over on these small vessels.

Turning to another matter, to what extent has the Sahel development program really helped Cape Verde? As you know, Cape Verde is among the poorest of the recipients of American assistance through the Sahel development program.

Mr. YATES. Yes. Under the Sahel development program, since Cape Verdean independence, we have provided approximately $50 million in assistance, both in direct bilateral assistance—through regional programs—and in food aid.

Under that program, today in Cape Verde some 3,000 people are involved in rural works projects. Over 100 Cape Verdeans have been educated in American universities. We have built over the last 2 years, or are continuing to build, more than 100 schoolrooms to ease a very critical problem in that area.

On the island of Sal, which is virtually without water, we are going to open, within the month I believe, a new desalinization plant built with American funds.

Finally, just before I came back I had the privilege of visiting one of our rural works projects, and I was able to see an area where there are several acres of newly irrigated land which before were totally dry.

Senator PELL. On the question of student exchange programs, how many young Cape Verdeans go to the Soviet Union or to the Eastern bloc countries on exchange fellowships?

Mr. YATES. Senator, I do not have those figures, but Cape Verde does not have any universities of its own, and traditionally, or at least since independence, the young people have gone not only to the United States but to Portugal, the Soviet Union, France, and West Germany. I would guess that the numbers to the Soviet Union were perhaps comparable to the numbers coming to the United States.

Senator PELL. Could you submit those figures for the record?

Mr. YATES. I would be happy to.

Senator PELL. I would be interested in knowing how many students go to the Soviet Union specifically, as well as to Portugal and to the United States.

Mr. YATES. I would be happy to do so.

Senator PELL. How would you describe the present state of Cape Verde's economy?

Mr. YATES. Well, it is an anomaly. As we have said, Cape Verde is primarily a rural economy, 80 percent rural, I believe; and for 15 years it has been plagued by a drought, so the rural economy has been severely damaged. However, and paradoxically, Cape Verde has been one of the few West African countries to show constant economic growth

since independence. This is in large part due to the remittances from emigrant communities overseas and, of course, to the assistance that Cape Verde has received from the international community.

Senator PELL. Does Portugal still give Cape Verde any monetary aid or other assistance?

Mr. YATES. Portugal does give aid. Portugal's own economic situation is not so strong. I believe that most of the Portuguese aid is in manpower and cooperation of this kind rather than in direct loans.

Senator PELL. What do you believe are Cape Verde's most valuable resources and what are the country's prospects for economic development?

Mr. YATES. I believe that Cape Verde's most important resource is the industriousness of the people. I have seen in my 6 months there that Cape Verdeans work very hard. Admittedly, they have a terrible handicap with the country spread out over 10 islands, without having had rain; but the people do work, and they continue to work. And I believe that with international help they are going to make it.

Senator PELL. As you know, Cape Verde has announced a 5-year development program, intended to consolidate assistance for overall government objectives rather than for piecemeal development projects. What do you believe are the U.S. long-term development objectives in Cape Verde, and how does our current program for Cape Verde carry out these objectives?

Mr. YATES. Senator, we have worked very closely with the Government of Cape Verde in developing our aid program. They have identified as a priority area agricultural development and land and water conservation. This is now the area of our primary concentration, and I believe that we have played an important part in their development up to the present time. With some luck the Cape Verdeans will achieve their goal of being able to feed their population by the year 2000.

Senator PELL. Traditionally, the United States has provided emergency food assistance for Cape Verde which, as you suggest, has long been victimized by severe drought and widespread hunger. Is it likely that we will continue that emergency food aid?

Mr. YATES. Yes. During Vice President Bush's visit to Cape Verde in November of last year, he signed a 3-year food-for-peace program to provide 15,000 tons of corn annually. This program permits the Cape Verdeans to plan over 3 years with full assurance that they can rely upon us for this food.

The Vice President also pledged that the United States would continue to be a partner in Cape Verdean development.

Senator PELL. What are the prospects of beginning a Peace Corps program or some other kind of in-country training program for Cape Verde?

Mr. YATES. Well, I have talked with Mrs. Ruppe about the possibility of a Peace Corps program. The Peace Corps is strapped for funds. She has told me that if there should be a request from the Government of Cape Verde, that the Peace Corps would be prepared to send a survey team. Certainly among the many thousands of Cape Verdeans in New England who already speak the language we should have no trouble recruiting volunteers if the two governments should decide to institute a program.

Senator PELL. Do we have a military aid program for Cape Verde?

Mr. YATES. This year for the first time we have instituted and agreed to a military training program of $35,000. Under this program, next month, the month of April, two Cape Verdeans will come to the United States to visit various training installations, both English-language training and Coast Guard training facilities. Following this visit we will then develop a program that we hope will go on for the next several years.

Senator PELL. As a retired captain of the Coast Guard Reserve, I obviously have great support for their work with the Coast Guard. But I must express concern if we are now seeking to develop Cape Verde's military to the point that they might be drawn into regional conflicts.

Mr. YATES. Well, of course, they do have a small army. They do have a small navy. But I believe that given the geographic configuration of the country with the 10 islands and the need to protect fishing areas they see the need of a coast guard to be a real one.

Senator PELL. I can see the need for a coast guard, but I do not see the reason for an army. How big is that army now?

Mr. YATES. I believe it is around 2,000.

Senator PELL. Does Cape Verde have compulsory military service?

Mr. YATES. I do not believe so. I would have to check on that to be sure. I do not believe so.

Senator PELL. Where might Cape Verde's Army of 2,000 soldiers be used, and for what purpose?

Mr. YATES. I believe that they legitimately believe that they would possibly be needed in the event of an attack of some kind. Almost every country has a standing army of some size. Two thousand does not seem excessive.

Senator PELL. I think we do great harm to many nations by saying you must have a large army. I am thinking of two of the most stable countries in the world today—Costa Rica and Iceland—that have very little military at all. I hope that our Government will not end up forcing weapons into the not-always-outstretched hands of other countries.

Again, I can appreciate the need for a coast guard, which can provide some protection for Cape Verde's fishing rights. But I am disturbed with the thought that we would be encouraging Cape Verde to build up an army.

Mr. YATES. Senator, I think that our military assistance is going to be limited in the foreseeable future to training programs, which I believe is justifiable.

Senator PELL. Would you submit for the record, first, the present size and nature of Cape Verde's military forces, and second, the projected level of U.S. military assistance to Cape Verde, apart from coast guard training?

Mr. YATES. I believe that the latter figure would be zero.

Senator PELL. Good. Please do your best, as our Ambassador, to try to keep it that way.

I understand that, as a former Portuguese colony, Cape Verde has natural ties to Angola and to southern African issues. What is the Cape Verde Government's overall approach to apartheid issues in South Africa and toward Cuban troops in Angola?

Mr. YATES. As you know, Senator, President Pereira has been instrumental in arranging conversations between South Africa and Angola in an attempt to find peaceful solutions to some of the problems in southern Africa. Cape Verde, like virtually all other African countries, is morally opposed to apartheid.

I do not presume to speak for the President of Cape Verde with regard to Cuban troops in Angola. I believe he regrets the fact that the Angolan regime feels that it needs to have Cuban troops. However, I believe he would say that that is a question of Angolan sovereignty.

I would prefer to emphasize the important role that Cape Verde is playing in trying to resolve some of these thorny problems in southern Africa.

Senator PELL. What were the factors that led to Cape Verde's present role as the common ground for these South African-Angola talks to which you have referred? Did Cape Verde seek to be in this position as an honest broker?

Mr. YATES. Well, I believe that it was in part circumstances and in part the important role that the President of the Republic of Cape Verde thought that he could play. Cape Verde does have, as you pointed out correctly, historic ties with the Angolan Government.

They also continue to have some economic ties with the Republic of South Africa through the landing rights of South Africa at the international airport in Cape Verde. Therefore they do, unlike many African countries, retain a channel of communication with the South Africans.

Senator PELL. Do you think that Cape Verde will continue to be involved actively in the southern African negotiations?

Mr. YATES. I believe that as long as President Pereira believes they can play a useful role they will.

Senator PELL. How would you characterize the present political philosophy of Cape Verde's Government?

Mr. YATES. Well, the political philosophy of Cape Verde was formulated primarily by the father of the revolution, Amril Cabral. I think in short terms one would say "African socialism."

Senator PELL. Following that thought for a minute, has Cape Verde's Government nationalized the means of production? In other words, have business concerns there been nationalized, or are they still in private hands?

Mr. YATES. No: there is still a considerable private sector, both in agriculture, small industry, shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers and the like. Some land that was previously owned by the Portuguese was taken over at independence when the Portuguese left and is being run as cooperatives, but by and large the means of production have not been nationalized.

Senator PELL. Is Cape Verde's population primarily Roman Catholic?

Mr. YATES. That is correct.

Senator PELL. Where do Cape Verdean priests receive their training? Do they go abroad, for instance, to Lisbon?

Mr. YATES. I haven't looked into that question. I would guess they go to Lisbon but I don't really know.

Senator PELL. There is no seminary in Cape Verde, is there?

Mr. YATES. I don't believe so, no; not, at least, in Santiago where I am living.

Senator PELL. Perhaps you could submit further information about Cape Verde's seminary training for the record.

What are the basic Soviet and Cuban interest activities in Cape Verde?

Mr. YATES. I believe that the Soviet interests are largely based on the realization of the strategic importance of Cape Verde. Historically they have their roots in the assistance the Soviets provided to the Cape Verdean fighters, during the Cape Verde-Guinea-Bissau struggle for independence, when we were constrained from helping.

They have continued to have a role with the military and with the police in Cape Verde.

Senator PELL. How many Soviet and Cuban nationals would you estimate are in Cape Verde?

Mr. YATES. I would have to take that question along with the earlier one. My guess would be perhaps 50, but I don't know.

Senator PELL. Are any of these Soviets or Cubans involved in military training or military activities, or are they engaged more in civilian matters, such as education or farming?

Mr. YATES. There are some in the military training capacity in the sense that two of the airplanes that the armed forces own are Soviet airplanes, and they still have Soviet crews with them. Two of the patrol boats that are part of the navy were provided by the Soviet Union and also have at least some Soviet training crews with them.

Senator PELL. Is there still substantial emigration from Cape Verde to the United States?

Mr. YATES. Yes, there is. In 1981 the Embassy in Praia issued around 700 immigrant visas which, as I mentioned earlier, is the highest number of immigrant visas issued by any U.S. diplomatic post in Africa that year.

Senator PELL. Is there any other country besides the United States to which a significant number of Cape Verdeans immigrate?

Mr. YATES. Yes; there are several other countries, including the Netherlands, France, Italy, Brazil—well, Brazil I am not so sure of—Senegal, and certainly throughout history the Cape Verdeans have been found in all of the former Portuguese colonies, Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome. Excuse me, I forgot Portugal itself.

Senator PELL. To what extent do Americans of Cape Verdean descent continue to play an active role in Cape Verde's business or development?

Mr. YATES. Before I went to Cape Verde I visited several separate communities in New England, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and they play a significant part in terms of economic impact. You mentioned a figure of $5 million in remittances from emigrants. The ties between the American Cape Verdean community and the Cape Verdean islands remain very strong, the strength of these ties was again demonstrated last summer with the sailing from Cape Verde to the United States of the ship, the *Ernestina*, which was a gift of the Cape Verdean people. I believe the *Ernestina* sailed first to Providence, R.I.

Senator PELL. I remember greeting the *Ernestina* when it arrived. It was a remarkable vessel with a wonderful history.

I thank you very much, Mr. Yates, for being with us and for responding to all these questions. You have certainly helped to educate this committee.

The hearing is now adjourned.

[Additional questions and answers follow:]

MR. YATES' RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR PELL

Question 1. What is the nature and extent of exchange student activity between the Soviet Union and Cape Verde and Portugal and Cape Verde?

Answer. Since independence approximately 150 Cape Verdeans have received training in the United States under various assistance programs. We estimate that about three times as many have gone to the Soviet Union and six times as many to Portugal.

Question 2. What is the size and composition of Cape Verde's armed forces?

Answer. The Cape Verdean armed forces total about 1800. Most of these are army. The air force has two aircraft and the navy four small patrol-type boats.

Question 3. Excluding the U.S. Coast Guard training, what is the projected nature and level of U.S. military assistance for Cape Verde?

Answer. In fiscal year 1983, $35,000 has been appropriated under the International Military Education and Training Program. For fiscal year 1984, $60,000 has been requested. The Cape Verdeans have informed us that they hope to use the IMET moneys for Coast Guard training. No other military grant or loan programs are contemplated at the present time.

Question 4. Where do Cape Verde's Roman Catholic priests receive their seminary training?

Answer. The majority of the Roman Catholic priests are trained in Portugal and by Catholic orders in Italy.

Question 5. How many Soviet and Cuban nationals are on the Cape Verde Islands? What are their activities and how many of them are military personnel or advisors?

Answer. There are an estimated 50 Soviet and 30 Cuban advisors or assistance personnel in Cape Verde. Roughly half of them are believed to be engaged in military and security assistance activities both in training and maintenance of Soviet-provided equipment. Many of the rest are engaged in activities within the medical sector.

[The CRS report referred to follows:]

THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS: POLITICAL BACKGROUND AND RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES*

INTRODUCTION

The recently independent island nation of Cape Verde is the homeland of a sizable ethnic minority of Americans, who reside primarily in New England. United States-Cape Verde relations are good, and American interests transcend family ties, for the country is strategically located in the Atlantic Ocean off the West African coast. As the country's Minister of Economy and Finances himself once joked, Cape Verde enjoys only two natural resources—latitude and longitude.[1]

Cape Verde is one of the poorest countries in Africa, and has been in the grip of a severe drought for the past 14 years. A non-aligned country, it is dependent upon the United States and other western countries, and international organizations for economic assistance food aid.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Cape Verde group consists of 15 islands, 9 of which are inhabited, located in the central Atlantic almost 400 miles off the west coast of Africa. They achieved independence as the Republic of Cape Verde on July 5, 1975, after five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. Cape Verde is Africa's smallest nation, with a total

*By Lawrence Potter, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress. June 7, 1982.

[1] Mr. Osvaldo Lopes de Silva, cited in the Courier, No. 65, January-February 1981, p. 18.

area of 1,557 square miles (slightly larger than Rhode Island), and a population of 300,000. The official language is Portuguese, although most speak Crioulo, a creole dialect.

The islands, which are considered part of the Sahelian zone, have a hot, dry climate and seriously inadequate fresh water resources. The country has suffered a severe drought since 1968, which has adversely affected agricultural activity and caused emigration, always high, to increase. In the past, because of poor economic conditions, people have gone primarily to Portugal or former Portuguese colonies (Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Brazil), the Netherlands, and the United States.

The location of the islands on the Atlantic sea lanes enabled them to prosper from the slave trade from the 16th century on, and after the decline of this trade, by the re-supply of ships, particularly whalers. There is a fine harbor at Mindelo, on the island of Sao Vicente, which traditionally served as a coaling and watering station.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS: BACKGROUND

The islands of Cape Verde were linked for many years with Portuguese Guinea, another Portuguese colony located on the mainland of West Africa. Together, they participated in a 17-year liberation struggle (there were no military engagements in Cape Verde), led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAICG). This resulted in independence for the two countries following the end of the Salazar regime in Portugal in 1974 (the name Portuguese Guinea was changed to Guinea-Bissau). After independence, the main goal of the party, which governed both states, was to effect the union of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. This, however, was not achieved, and relations between the countries deteriorated sharply after a November 14, 1980 coup d'etat in Guinea-Bissau. Since January 20, 1981, Cape Verde has been ruled by the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV); the PAICG, which is ideologically very similar, continues to rule in Guinea-Bissau.

THE SPLIT WITH GUINEA-BISSAU

The coup in Guinea-Bissau and the subsequent split with Cape Verde resulted from political, racial, and economic stresses that had been building up since independence.

From the viewpoint of many in Guinea-Bissau, their country was being dominated by Cape Verdeans. A Cape Verdean, Amilcar Cabral, originally founded the PAICG, and many Cape Verdeans, after assuming leadership positions in the party, came to Guinea to participate in the armed struggle against Portugal. After independence, Cape Verdeans continued to dominate the party. Luis Cabral, the president of Guinea-Bissau who was deposed in the coup, was not only a Cape Verdean but a brother of the party's founder.[2] At the time of the coup, he was accused of having assumed dictatorial powers, preventing democratic discussion, and executing about 500 political prisoners.[3] According to Amnesty International, before the coup the regime in Guinea-Bissau had committed serious violations of human rights.[4] Another grievance was that after independence the Constitution of Guinea-Bissau allowed Cape Verdeans to run for the presidency, a privilege not granted to Guineans in Cape Verde.[5]

Racial animosity also played a part in the coup. The takeover was led by black nationalist Guinean officers, who replaced a government composed largely of mixed-race or mulatto Cape Verdeans.[6] There is also a significant religious and cultural difference between the two countries. Cape Verde is Roman Catholic and has a Portuguese heritage; in Guinea-Bissau half of the population is Muslim and most of the rest follow tribal practices.[7]

Economic grievances cited at the time of the coup, which were attributed to the policies of the Cape Verdean elite, included food shortages and power cuts in Guinea-Bissau.[8]

---

[2] The New York Times, Nov. 23, 1980, p. 4.
[3] Ibid. See also Washington Post, Nov. 25, 1980, p. A31.
[4] Amnesty International Report 1981, pp. 48–49.
[5] The New York Times, Nov. 23, 1980, p. 4.
[6] The New York Times, Nov. 23, 1980, p. 4, and Nov. 16, 1980, p. 3; and Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1980 p. A16.
[7] Obichere Boniface, I. Reconstruction in Guinea-Bissau: From Revolutionaries and Guerrilias to Bureaucrats and Politicians. Current Bibliography on African Affairs, v. 8, No. 3, 1975, pp. 204 and 216; New African Yearbook, p. 96.
[8] Timsar, Richard. While Guinea-Bissau's Leader was Away, Did Opponents Plot a Coup? Christian Science Monitor. Mar. 30, 1982, p. 6.

From the Cape Verdean perspective, the coup came as an unwelcome shock. Cape Verdeans believed that the Guineans had betrayed the common goal of the revolution, which, after liberation from Portugal, was to be unification. Cape Verdeans felt insulted that Guineans should retain the name of the common political party, and felt it necessary to re-name theirs, even though there were no significant ideological differences. Cape Verdeans were distressed by what they regarded as arbitrary rule with overtones of racism and nationalism on the part of the newly-formed revolutionary council in Guinea.[9]

Current conditions

Cape Verde continues to be ruled by the PAICV with no opposition party permitted. While many freedoms are guaranteed in the Constitution (e.g., freedom of speech, the press, and fair trial), in practice the government does not tolerate political dissent.[10] The Party has a socialist ideology, and Cape Verde sent its prime minister to Portugal in April 1982 for a meeting of the Socialist International.[11]

Economic conditions

Cape Verde is one of the poorest countries in the world (per capita income is $270), with unemployment and underemployment currently estimated at 40 percent. Over half of the country's gross domestic product in the period 1976–78 was derived from foreign aid and private transfers. Revenues in 1980 were estimated at $19.6 million and expenditures estimated at $25.2 million. (The deficit is made up mainly by foreign grants.)[12]

The country is poorly endowed with natural resources, and a disastrous drought since 1968 has severely limited agricultural production. Because subsistence agriculture formerly occupied much of the population, emigration to urban areas and abroad has sharply increased. The country has almost no industry. There are some minor mineral resources and potentially rich fishing grounds, but Cape Verde currently lacks the infrastructure and manpower resources to develop them. Agriculture and fisheries account for 25 percent of the gross domestic product, construction 17 percent, and commerce, transport and government service make up about 50 percent.[13]

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Relations with the United States

The United States has had longstanding ties with Cape Verde, where an American consulate was established in 1816. Even earlier, crewmen were recruited in Cape Verde for American whalers operating in local waters. The United States recognized Cape Verde as an independent country on July 5, 1975, and relations have steadily improved.

People of Cape Verdean descent who live in the United States form a major link between the two countries. There are currently about 300,000 such people in the United States—as many as live on the islands. An additional 200,000 also live elsewhere outside the archipelago. The Cape Verdean community in the United States is concentrated in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (there are about 22,000 in the Providence area, 15–16,000 in the New Bedford area, and about 10,000 in the Roxbury-Dorchester section of Boston).[14]

Aside from the interests arising from family ties, U.S. concern for Cape Verde stems from several other factors:

(1) The country's strategic location on the Atlantic shipping lanes, and as a stopover point for aircraft enroute to Africa.

(2) The Eastern bloc countries are well represented here, and an argument might be made that a balancing American presence is desirable. Such a presence might be helpful in keeping track of Cuban activity in Africa.

(3) Humanitarian concern to alleviate the human and economic hardships, which have been exacerbated in recent years due to the drought.

---

[9] Foy, Colm. New Party Leads Cape Verde. Guardian, Feb. 25, 1981, v. 33, p. 16; also Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde: Are They on the Edge of the Abyss? New African, February 1982, p. 17.

[10] U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1981, February 1982. Cape Verde, pp. 44–48.

[11] Timsar, Richard, p. 6.

[12] U.S. Agency for International Development. Congressional Presentation, Fiscal Year 1983, Annex 1 Africa, pp. 30–39.

[13] Ibid.

[14] The Standard-Times. New Bedford, Mass., Jan. 3, 1982, p. 15.

Relations with other countries

Cape Verde considers itself a non-aligned country. It is dependent upon food and development aid from the West (discussed in the next section), and relations with Western nations are expected to remain good due to this dependence. Cape Verde maintains friendly relations with countries where there are Cape Verdean communities (particularly the United States, Portugal, Senegal, and the Netherlands), and countries with which they shared the anti-colonial struggle against the Portuguese (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique). Cape Verde belongs to the Organization of African Unity and has good relations with the European Economic Community since it is a signatory of the Lome Convention.

Friendship with the West, however, is balanced by good relations with the Eastern bloc, to which Cape Verde feels indebted for arms aid provided during the struggle that resulted in the country's independence. There are ties to Algeria, Cuba, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union.[15] The Soviet connection is considered to be the most significant, and has concentrated on Cape Verde's security and defense agencies. The Soviets have apparently requested bases there and have been refused (Soviet presence would violate Cape Verde's policy of nonalignment).[16] In 1979, the U.S.S.R. agreed to assist in the building of new ports on four of the islands.[17]

China has provided support for various development projects, and is currently constructing a new National Assembly building in the capital. The President of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira, recently visited China.

From a commercial standpoint, the country's international airport at Sal Island (built by South Africa in the colonial period) helps to provide important revenues in the form of landing fees. The airport is served by regular flights of South African Airlines out of New York, Amsterdam, and Johannesburg, and by TAP (Portuguese) from Lisbon and Guinea. At its summit meeting in 1979, the Organization of African Unity passed a resolution (No. 734) appealing to its members to give aid to Cape Verde on a scale that would permit it to ban the South African flights; this has not yet happened.[18]

There are also infrequent flights by Aeroflot from Moscow, and flights by TAAG of Angola and Cubana de Aviacion of Cuba which stop over while enroute from Havana to Angola. Such "commercial" flights are permitted the Cubans, but Cuban or Soviet military flights are not allowed. However, the flights are not inspected and may help Cuba maintain a presence in Angola.

Although Cape Verde has diplomatic relations with about 50 nations, most of the embassies accredited to it are located in countries on the African mainland. The only embassies located at the capital, Praia, are those of the U.S.A., Portugal, Senegal, the U.S.S.R., Cuba, and the People's Republic of China. The American ambassador is resident in Bissau, with only a charge normally present on the islands. Some Cape Verdeans in America have expressed interest in upgrading American representation in Praia. According to the State Department, the nature of representation is constantly under review, suggesting that a change in status is indeed a possibility.

Foreign aid

Cape Verde is highly dependent on foreign aid. Since the country became independent, exports have only paid for 5 percent of imports. U.S. economic assistance, which began after independence in 1975, amounted to $44 million through 1981 ($19.1 million of this was for food aid). In fiscal year 1981, the Agency for International Development (AID) program and the Public Law 408 Title II (Food for Peace) programs amounted to about $3 million each. The proposed level of funding for fiscal year 1983 is about $5.5 million for AID projects, and about three-quarters of a million dollars in food aid. The United States has never supplied funds for military assistance.[19]

U.S. aid, which formerly aimed to provide emergency food supply, is now directed toward projects which will increase food production and halt or stabilize environmental deterioration. During fiscal year 1983, AID hopes to develop sur-

---

[15] U.S. Department of State. Background Notes for Cape Verde, September 1978, p. 4.
[16] New African Yearbook 1980, p. 96. (Soviet attempts to gain a base in Guinea-Bissau were turned down by the government there in the fall of 1981.) Strategy Week, Nov. 9–15, 1981, p. 6.
[17] Africa South of the Sahara 1980–81, Tenth Ed. Europa Publications, Ltd., p. 259.
[18] Davidson, Basil. No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky: Building Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Race and Class, v. 23, 1981, p. 59.
[19] U.S. Agency for International Development. Congressional Presentation Fiscal Year 1983. Annex 1, Africa, pp. 30–39; and U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants and Assistance from International Organizations, Obligations and Loan Authorizations July 1, 1945–Sept. 30, 1981, p. 92.

face and groundwater resources in order to expand irrigated agriculture, to continue crop research, to make a national energy assessment, and to institute training and educational programs for the development of human resources. Assistance in constructing the Sal Island desalination project is also being provided.

Such projects are intended to strengthen the local economy and thereby slow emigration, 70 percent of which is comprised of working-age males.[20] As U.S. Ambassador to Cape Verde Peter de Vos has stated, "It's in our interest to see economic development and a stable Cape Verde." [21]

The largest source of aid in calendar year 1980 was the Netherlands ($11.6 million), followed by Sweden ($7.4 million), the United States ($6 million), Germany ($4.9 million), France ($3.3 million), and others ($5.8 million). There were no loans or grants extended by Communist countries in calendar year 1980, although during the period 1954–80 the People's Republic of China gave $15 million and the U.S.S.R. $5 million.[22]

The World Bank and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) each gave $400,000 in fiscal year 1981.[23] The United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions which appeal to the international community to provide special assistance to Cape Verde and has requested the specialized agencies of the United Nations to give Cape Verde special consideration. The United Nations has proposed a program of economic assistance which in mid-1981 consisted of 92 projects, of which 24 have been fully funded by various countries and international organizations. Partial funding has been arranged for 20 others. The United Nations Secretary General has sent review missions to Cape Verde (most recently in March 1981), to consult on the country's economic situation.[24]

Cape Verde is a signatory of the Lome Convention, along with 57 other African, Caribbean and Pacific states. This agreement has benefited Cape Verde mainly in the areas of financial and technical cooperation. The convention also opens markets of the European Economic Community to African products, particularly agricultural exports, but so far Cape Verde has only tuna and lobster to export. By early 1980, EEC aid amounted to 23 million European Units of Account (EUA), and in the period 1980–85 Cape Verde anticipates receiving an additional 15 to 17 million EUA.[25]

Prospects

The Cape Verdean community in the United States is closely monitoring events in their homeland, and hope to influence future decisions concerning U.S. aid. They are concerned that, in an era of budgetary restraint, some might maintain that the Cape Verde islands are insignificant and should have low priority for foreign aid.

Another viewpoint is that because of Cape Verde's strategic location, the United States cannot afford to be without influence there. Cape Verde emphasizes that it is a non-aligned country, and has so far resisted Soviet requests for bases.

As the hardest hit of the Sahelian countries, a strong argument could be made to increase assistance on humanitarian grounds. At present Cape Verde receives a very small part of total United States aid. Such aid directly benefits the people either by providing food itself, or through projects designed to help increase food production. U.S.-sponsored projects can help to increase food production, slow emigration, and—especially when the current drought eases—help revive Cape Verde's economy.

[Whereupon, at 5:05 p.m., the committee adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.]

---

[20] Dash, Leon. The Women's Movement Comes to Cape Verde. Washington Post, July 26, 1981.

[21] Convey, Kevin. Heartbreak, Hope Mark Cape Verde's Struggle. The Standard-Times. New Bedford, Mass., Sept. 13, 1981, p. 10.

[22] AID Presentation, fiscal year 1983, p. 31.

[23] Ibid.

[24] See for example Resolutions 36/211, Dec. 17, 1981; 35/104, Dec. 5, 1980; 34/119, Dec. 14, 1979; 33/127, Dec. 19 1978; and 32/99 Dec. 13, 1977.

[25] The Courier, No. 65, January-February 1981, p. 28. A European Unit of Account is a unit based on a basket of European currencies that was worth approximately $1.25 in 1978 and is worth approximately $1.12 today.

○